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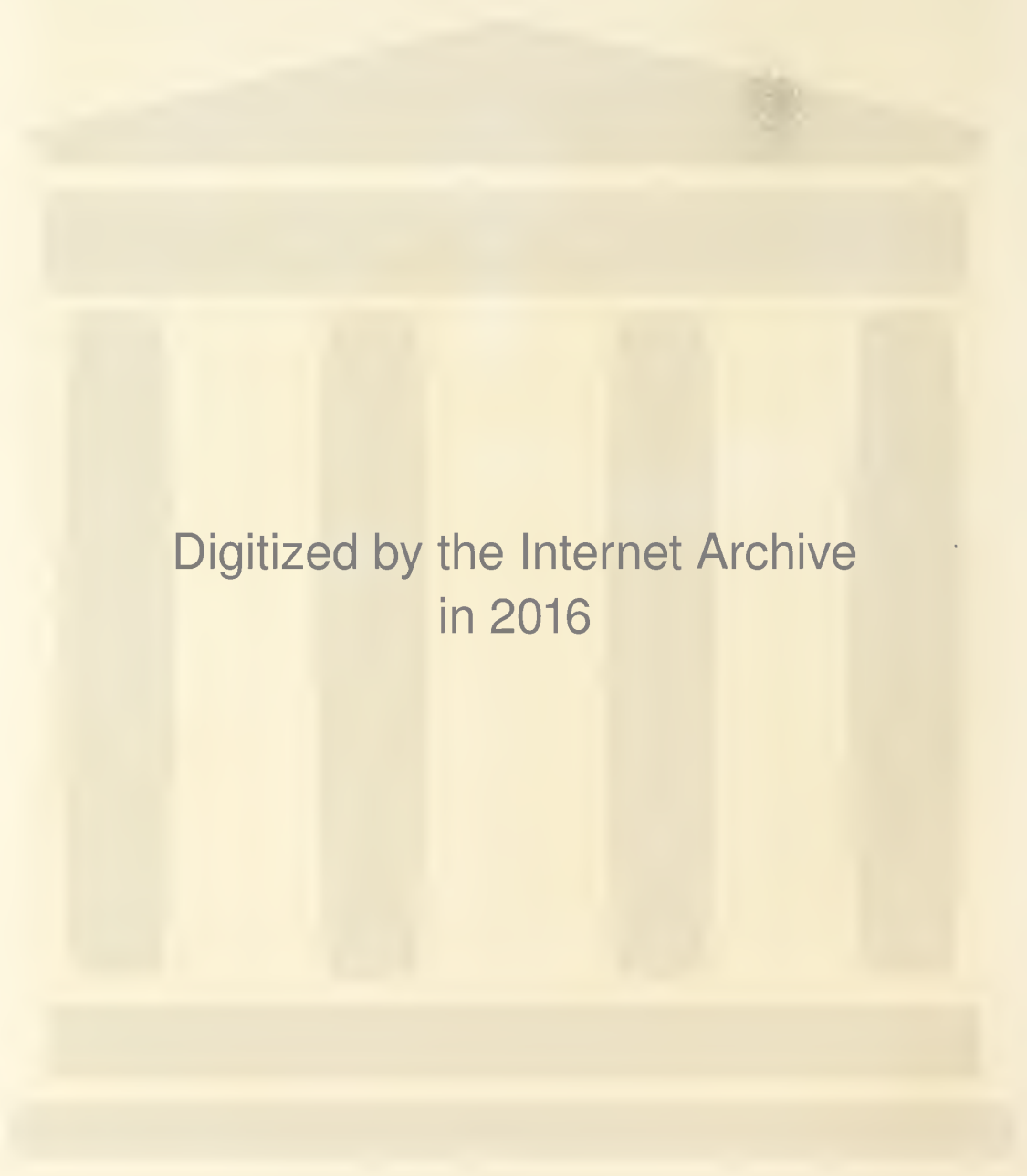


Franklin

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mental Congress of the same year, we find him the calm, considerate, zealous friend of American liberty. From the first moment of conflict at Lexington to the last of surrender at Yorktown, he was constantly employed in the service. From his seat at Lebanon went forth many a good word of encouragement in days of darkness and peril, and many a better deed of active and material aid. The central position of Connecticut, intermediate between New York and Massachusetts, and reaching on the west to the highways to Canada, gave her a peculiar importance in the struggle, and fortunate was it for the country that she had in her high seat of authority so true a representative of New England faith and steadfastness as Governor Jonathan Trumbull.

In the interesting narrative of his faithful biographer, Mr. Stuart, we find him constantly busy in the work of recruiting for the service, supplying men and stores, which his trading operations enabled him to effect with the greater facility; counselling with Washington, who always found him a friend in need—and the friend was needed very often; now holding “talks” with deputations of Indian warriors, disheartening Tories and malignants, and assuring the spirits of the faithful, at one moment by a rousing proclamation, at another by an equally stimulating fast-day; sending soldiers to war, or receiving them on their return, sick and wounded, in hospitals; in charge of the foundries, in charge of the prisons; something between a commodore and an admiralty judge in the waters bordering his State, entertain-

ing officers and foreign generals, the nucleus and active centre, the throbbing heart of a series of military operations, extending far and wide through the northern and eastern departments; while all along, whether the State was to be defended, or the war was to be carried beyond its borders, the good counsel and pious thanksgiving of the venerable sage kept even company with his patriotism.

We are to take into account, in this sketch, the advanced period of life at which these labors were carried on—Trumbull being sixty-five at the breaking out of the war—and the inevitable difficulties of his position. Nothing, however, deterred or disheartened the old man; be it success or defeat, good or evil fortune, his Bible was open before him, and he saw only the path of duty, and the directing hand of Providence. It is the story of an aged patriarch, at whose house arrive all the visitants of human life, chequered joys and griefs, his family coming to honor—more than one of its members were distinguished in the war—his son Joseph, the commissary general, returning home in 1778 to die; two years after called to part with his beloved wife, the companion of nearly half a century—well might he seek the strength and consolation of the faith in which he had been nurtured, looking to the promises which had supported the hearts of the fathers in Israel. Year after year passes on, day by day marked in his Diary with the details of news and business and pious ejaculation, till one Friday, October 26, 1781, he records the receipt, in the evening, of a hand-

bill, announcing the surrender of Cornwallis. "Praised be the Lord of Hosts!" is his addition to the glowing items of intelligence. The war is now over, and the venerable patriarch, now past three score and ten, determines to lay aside the dignity and public care which had been imposed upon him the greater part of his life—he had been fifty-one years the servant of the public—and to make the occasion memorable, delivered a farewell address to the House of Representatives, a parting legacy to his countrymen, the last of the series of State papers and proclamations bearing the name of the Governor, the man whom his State delighted to honor. The address, worthy to be read by the side of the similar paper of Washington, breathes an exalted piety and patriotism. Its lessons are fraught with experience and enlightened statesmanship.

After his retirement, in the year and a half which was left to him of life, Trumbull was partly engaged in public business, but more in the study of divinity and the preparation for the final scene. He wisely interposed an interval of comparative leisure between his public career and the grave. The Bible was more than ever his companion, and its grand teachings were enhanced to him by reading them in the original Greek and Hebrew. Death came to him in the midst of these peaceful occupations, from an act of charity. A fever, caught in a visit to a dying man, took violent hold of him, and in a few days he breathed his

last, at his home in Lebanon, August 17, 1785.

The personal qualities of Trumbull were rarely adapted to serve the cause in which his life was passed. The participant in three great wars, the experience of Nestor was added to a natural prudence and moderation which were seldom at fault. His simplicity of character was the secret of its greatness. He early fixed the principles of his life, and steadily adhered to them to the end. So honors came to him, and were heaped upon him—the steady, persistent, useful, devout citizen of Lebanon. There was his home, there was his armor, and he appears seldom to have travelled much beyond its rural precinct; but his influence knew no bounds, it was seen and felt in every vein of the public life, in the court, in the camp—we may almost say in the pulpit, for divinity never entirely lost, amidst the cares of business and of state, her early pupil. Connecticut may well honor his memory, and in times of doubt and peril, think how her Revolutionary governor, Trumbull, would have thought and acted. If it be true that the origin of the term, "Brother Jonathan," familiarly applied to the nation, originated, as is sometimes said, with an expression of General Washington, in an emergency of the public service: "We must consult Brother Jonathan on the subject," we may find a happy memorial of his fame in a phrase which bids fair to be more lasting than many a monument of stone or marble.

JOHN ADAMS.

IN the notice on a previous page of the genealogy of the Adams Family, in the sketch of Samuel Adams, we have seen the point of separation of the Braintree and Boston branches in the third generation midway between the American founder and his distinguished descendants of the Revolutionary era. John Adams, the grandfather of Samuel, removed to Boston; his brother, Joseph, remained at Braintree, becoming the parent of a son, John, who was the father of the future President.

John Adams, the subject of this paper, was born in the town of Braintree, October 19, 1735. His father was something more than a respectable, he was a useful citizen of the town; he had been educated at Harvard; held the offices of deacon and selectman, honoring the one by his piety and discharging the other with fidelity, and according to a habit not unfrequent with small property-holders in New England, eked out the resources of his farm by shoe-making. Taking care to transmit the benefit which he had received, he provided that his eldest son, John, should have the advantage of a college education. He was prepared for Harvard by the aid both of the Congregational minister

and of the Episcopal reader at Braintree, was a good student of his class, which sent many eminent men into the world, and in due time graduated at the age of twenty in 1755. The talent which he displayed in the commencement exercises, attracted the notice of a person present, charged with a commission to supply a Latin master for the Grammar School of Worcester. He applied to Adams, who undertook the task, and shortly after set out on the horse sent for him by the town's people, making the sixty miles' journey in a single day. This transfer from the home sphere was highly favorable to his development: he was thrown upon his own resources among strangers, and doubtless the privations and little vexations of his schoolmaster's life, stimulated his independent nature to further exertions.

The school appears at first to have been very distasteful to his aspiring mind; but he became reconciled to its duties, and doubtless profited by the discipline which he himself administered. "I find," says he, after some months' occupation at this drudgery in shaping the crude material of the Worcester nurseries, "I find by repeated observation and experiment in my school, that human nature is more

easily wrought upon and governed by promises and encouragement and praise, than by punishment and threatening and blame"—a sentence which should be grafted in the memory of every schoolmaster in the land.

The pedagogue is not altogether given over to mending pens, the agreeable alternations of birching and feruling or a-b-c-ing the boys, of which he humorously complains, but finds time to store his mind with good reading, makes acquaintance with the writings of such political philosophers as Gordon and Bolingbroke, and is ambitious of the society of the place, always conscious that John Adams should be somebody in the world, and that it is but an act of common justice to himself to take all proper means to secure the position. The house of Colonel James Putnam, an able lawyer of the place, is open to him; thither he frequently resorts, and after awhile, the law securing his attention—he had by this time pretty well argued himself out of the New England orthodoxy, and so given up any thoughts of the pulpit—proposes to study the profession with his friend. Mr. Putnam consents, and Mrs. Putnam makes provision in the house for the student, who is also to continue in charge of the urchins at the school. The legal apprenticeship continues two years, during which it is to be regretted that the Diary is silent, when John Adams takes leave of the population of Worcester, little and great, to seek admission to the Colonial bar. He takes up his residence with his father at Braintree, or Quincy, as it is now called, at the old paternal dwell-

ing, and one day in October, 1758, goes to Boston to be introduced by Attorney-General Gridley, the father of the bar, to the Superior Court, and is admitted Attorney at Law in his Majesty's Courts of the Province.

The attorney relaxes none of his diligence in attention to the old law, in the study of laborious volumes, over which the dust has long gathered in legal libraries. Those were the days before Blackstone, when no republican road had been marked out to the secret places of the profession, when the maxim of Coke, the *viginti annorum lucubrationes*, was still in vogue, when no Lord Brougham or reviser of the statutes had risen to prepare the smooth pathway of legal reform. Reading the entries of these grave old studies, burdened with the traditions of English centuries, from Bracton and Fleta, Coke and Fortescue, we may ask, "Where be his quiddets now, his quilllets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks?" Gone with the old wigs and colonial state, and we need sigh no alas! at the reminiscence.

We see Adams, in these years of opening manhood, lighted along his daily path by the cheerful, pleasant Diary, the man of the world and of society, emerging from the old formalism; the independent thinker, built on the antiquarian student, as he gathers strength from discussion, and takes the measure of the leaders of that day. He is not backward in entering into controversy with, and judging some of them, but he retires at night to be a more rigid censor of himself. There is a sufficient stock of vanity in some of

his revelations, but there is a greater diffidence; and he manages to blend the two into a good working union, diligence furnishing the bottom, and vanity being only the spur to his honorable career. There is some vainglory, perhaps, in his writing down, even privately for himself, how he spent his evenings in company with a book at the fireside, while Doctor Gardiner, Billy Belcher, Stephen Cleverly, the Quincys, and other young fellows of the town, are playing cards and drinking punch at the tables: but it is not the less true that he is thereby preparing himself to emerge from poverty, receive fees, bear Parson Smith's daughter as his wife to his home, and in good time support the duties of the State. Having mentioned this marriage, we may here, a little out of date, state that the event occurred in October, 1764; that the lady, the fair Abigail, was the daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, and grand-daughter of Colonel John Quincy, of Mount Wollaston, of colonial fame; that she was young, and possessed accomplishments in intellect and reading, proportioned to his own, as her published letters testify; and that the union, "the source of all his felicity," continued for fifty-three years, having its only pang in absence and the final separation.

We are now to trace Adams' political career. It began with his offering public resolutions at Braintree, and his maintaining an argument in behalf of the town of Boston, addressed to the Colonial Government in opposition to the Stamp Act. He published, about the same date, several papers in the

"Boston Gazette," which were reprinted in London by Thomas Hollis, who gave them the not very fortunate title, "A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law," which has probably prevented many persons looking at the tract, who would be interested by its review of the principles of the New England settlements, and its vigorous appeal to the people in the existing struggle. Notwithstanding he was looked to as a leader for the popular party, he had no sympathy with their acts of violence, and when the disturbance occurred which resulted in the firing upon the people by the British troops, he independently and humanely, a thing which should always be remembered in his honor, gave his services to Preston and the defence. This caused him some unpopularity, but did not hinder his election, immediately after, to the General Court, as the legislative body was called in Massachusetts. When the news of his election was brought to him, he made his first appearance at Faneuil Hall, and accepted the choice. It was the turning point of his career. On one side lay a profitable legal practice, in a routine dear to the legal mind; on the other a troubled sea of opposition and revolt. A popular nominee has seldom accepted an election with less of satisfaction. "I considered the step," he said, "as a devotion of my family to ruin and myself to death." Mrs. Adams burst into tears at the event, but approved the choice; the duty was clear, and the rest was piously left to Providence.

He was now a resident of Boston, but the constant labors of his profes-

sion, and the confinement of the city wearing upon his health, he resigned his seat in the Legislature, and again made his residence in Braintree, having his office in Boston. His studies, family cares, and the duties of his profession, had thus far, rather than politics, mainly engaged his attention. The time was come, however, when business was at an end, and home, to be enjoyed, must be protected. If all the leaders of opinion did not speak openly of revolt and revolution, there were probably few of them who did not feel that they were drifting rapidly towards it.

In 1774 he was appointed by the General Court one of the Representatives to the Congress at Philadelphia; his associates being Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and his troublesome old friend, "Bob," now Robert Treat Paine. They journeyed together in one coach, through Hartford and New Haven to New York. At New York Adams is much taken with McDougall, particularly his open manners. The delegates are received with hospitality, so that Adams complains of not being able to see the objects of interest in the town. What were they at that time? The college, the churches, printing offices, and booksellers' shops; few indeed to be compared with the present lions, yet relatively great to the people of that day.

Passing on to Princeton, his patriotism is refreshed by a conference with President Witherspoon, "as high a son of liberty as any man in America." One of the first persons he is introduced to at Philadelphia is Charles Thomson,

the perpetual Secretary of Congress, whom he understands is "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia, the life of the cause of liberty;" a valuable testimony this, by the way, if he needed such, to the popular estimate of his associate. The business of the Congress at once engages his attention. He has to study "the characters and tempers, the principles and views of fifty gentlemen, total strangers, and the trade, policy and whole interest of a dozen provinces; to learn and practise reserve in the communication of his plans and wishes." The discussions are tedious. "Every man is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man, upon every question, must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities." Yet this Congress held Washington, Jay, Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, John Dickinson, Richard Henry Lee, Rutledge, Gadsden, and other notables, and men learnt to sigh a few years afterwards, when the representation fell into neglect, at the thought of these early deliberative giants. In fact, all great efforts have their weariness; of all things human, there is none great enough to satisfy the wants of the soul. Adams, with the rest, did his good day's work discussing a Declaration of Rights, confronting Galloway, the projector of a plan for union with England, debating the non-importation resolutions, consulting with Patrick Henry on the Petition to the King, and when the long morning work is over, dining and feasting with the wealthy citizens of Philadelphia, in admiration at the costly entertainments, and a little surprised that he is not

affected by the unusual libations of Madeira.

Returning home to Massachusetts after the short session of this body, he is chosen to the Provincial Congress, already quite busy with revolt, and when this duty is discharged, turns his pen to answer the annoying Tory arguments of Massachusettensis, Daniel Leonard, as it afterwards appeared, who was greatly cheering the hearts of the administration men in the colonies by his logical efforts in the "Gazette and Postboy." The replies of Adams, signed Novanglus, covering the old legal and historical issues, twelve in number, accomplished something of a diversion, or as the author afterwards expressed it, "had the effect of an antidote to the poison." There were several unpublished in the printer's hands, when the Battle of Lexington "changed the instruments of warfare from the pen to the sword." Three weeks afterwards he was at Philadelphia at the Second Congress, in 1775. Before his departure from Boston, he had visited the camp at Cambridge, and observed its necessities. Early on the assembling of Congress, he proposed Washington for Commander-in-Chief; "the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave," as he calls him in a letter to his wife, and has the satisfaction of accompanying him a little way out of Philadelphia towards his distant command. Franklin, who had recently bid farewell to England, was also a member of this body.

During the first session of this Congress, Adams was diligently employed in the preparatory measures which led

to the Declaration of Independence and Confederation of the following year. As the time approached, his activity and boldness were displayed as the full grandeur of the scenes rose to his mind. "Objects," he wrote to William Cushing, "of the most stupendous magnitude, and measures in which the lives and liberties of millions yet unborn are intimately interested, are now before us." "Yesterday," he writes to his wife, on the third of July, 1776, on the passage of Lee's Resolution of Independence, "the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men;" and again the same day, in another letter to Mrs. Adams, a remarkable prophetic passage—"The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

Adams was on the committee for preparing the Declaration, and was active in the debate. In the absence of the present system of executive duties of government, the old Congress was compelled to resort to the awkward expedient of boards, in which the honor and efficiency, rather than the toil, were diminished by the division of labor.

Adams was made chairman of the Board of War, and was much employed in military affairs till his departure from Congress at the close of the next year.

In November, 1777, Congress, having become dissatisfied with the management of Silas Dean, in France, appointed Adams in his place. He set sail in the frigate *Boston* in the ensuing February, from Boston, accompanied by his son, John Quincy, then a boy of ten. The voyage was diversified by a chase and a storm, and the usual incidents of navigation. Adams, as we learn from his Diary, employed himself in observations of the discipline, the care of the men, and other points of naval regulation for which he had an eye from his duties in Congress. After a voyage of some six weeks, escaping the dreaded perils of the British cruisers, he was landed safely at Bordeaux. At Paris he took up his residence under the same roof with Dr. Franklin, and was shortly introduced by him to Vergennes and Maurepas. The domestic diplomacy of the commissioners was at first sight more formidable than that of the court. They were quite at odds with one another. Lee with Franklin and Deane, the general mischief-monger of the party. Adams saw the source of the difficulty in the mingling of diplomatic, commercial, and pecuniary transactions, and advised that these duties should be divided. In accordance with his suggestions, Congress made the division, creating Franklin minister at Paris, and sending Arthur Lee to Madrid. Oddly enough, Adams, the

mover of the resolution, was left out of the programme entirely. Finding nothing to do in the way of government employ, and indisposed to be an idle observer of the Parisians, though he envies his "venerable colleague," as he calls Franklin, then seventy, his privileges with the ladies, and is readily pleased with the sights about him, he is bent upon returning home, and an opportunity at length offering itself in the departure of the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, he sets sail from Lorient, June 17, 1779.

The frigate *Sensible* arrived at Boston on the second of August; within a week he was elected by his townspeople, of Braintree, their delegate to the Convention to frame a Constitution for Massachusetts. The honor and responsibility of much of the work fell into his hands; but before it was completed, he was again summoned to the foreign service of his country, as minister to negotiate with Great Britain. Embarking in the *Sensible*, the French frigate in which he had returned, he was landed in Galicia, travelled thence through Spain to Bayonne, a journey of which his Diary gives an interesting account, and arrived at Paris in February, 1780. Obstacles were here thrown in the way of his negotiation with England by the minister, Vergennes, who wished to keep the foreign policy of America under his control in subordination to French interests. The influence which the important aid rendered to America by the French government had given to her councils, occasioned much embarrassment in the adjustment of the treaty with England. It is a painful

portion of the history of America, this conflict of intrigue and benefits, of love of America and hatred of England; of Lafayette and Vergennes, smoothed over by the gratitude of Congress and the compliments of the monarchy, to break out into insidious plotting and open assault under the Revolution. This French imbroglio is henceforth to give John Adams a vast deal of trouble. Vergennes suspects his fidelity to the French anti-Anglican policy, and Adams, with Jay, thinks the Frenchman will sacrifice the interests of America. The negotiations are finally brought to a close by a body of commissioners charged with the work, embracing Adams, Franklin, Jay, Jefferson, and Laurens. In the meantime, Adams is busy in Holland, cultivating the Dutch capitalists, preparing the way for a loan and a treaty of alliance. That his country may be put upon a proper footing for these negotiations, he employs his pen in John Luzac's "Leyden Gazette," an organ of much service to America in the Revolution, and takes other means of disseminating correct information. That his articles might have more authority, he sent the communication to be first published in an English journal, that they might be thence transferred to the Dutch Gazette. He also drew up a series of replies to the inquiries of a gentleman of Holland touching American affairs, which have been often published, and which now appear in the collection of his writings with the title, "Twenty-six letters upon interesting subjects respecting the Revolution of America." The prospects

of a loan were broken up for a time by the war between Holland and England, in which an alleged alliance with America, which did not exist, was made the pretence of wanton aggression. But Adams, single-handed, persevered. He was presently reinforced by special authority from home, and had the satisfaction at last, not only of procuring a valuable loan, but of securing the recognition of his country by Holland as an independent power. This treaty of alliance was completed in October, 1782.

In the month following the conclusion of the negotiations in Holland, Adams, with Jay and Franklin, signed, at Paris, the preliminary articles of peace with England. He shared with Jay his suspicions of Vergennes; and Franklin, being led by their convictions, the responsibility was taken of carrying on the negotiation independently of France, and even contrary to the orders of Congress. The definitive treaty was not signed till the next September. When Adams had put his signature to this important instrument, he immediately set out for England to regain his health, which had been much impaired by his confinement and labors and a recent severe illness. His visit at this time was unofficial. He appears to have enjoyed with his usual zest the sights of the metropolis, in procuring admission to which he found his countryman, Benjamin West, as influential as a prime minister. In the lobby of the House of Lords he had the gratification of hearing the gentleman usher of the black rod "roar out with a very loud voice, where is Mr. Adams, Lord

Mansfield's friend?" The painter, West, remembering the denunciations of Murray against his country in that same House of Lords, said to Adams, "this is one of the finest finishings in the picture of American Independence."

His next diplomatic employment was as a commissioner with Franklin and Jefferson, to negotiate treaties of peace with the European nations. These engagements abroad having now assumed something of a permanent character, he was joined by Mrs. Adams, whom he hastened from the Continent, on her arrival in England, to conduct to his residence at Auteuil, in the suburb of Paris, in the summer of 1784. In February, 1785, Congress appoints John Adams the first American minister to Great Britain, and in May he is installed in the English capital. Friendly as his reception by the king appears to have been, it was not followed by a fair reciprocity towards America. Peace had indeed been made, and the minister received, but Congress was honored by no British representative calling at her doors. The relations of the two countries were in fact yet of the most unsettled character; questions of commercial intercourse, of a restrictive nature, were pressed against the Americans; the western posts were retained; on the other hand, the unsettled relations of the States to one another at home, were at variance with a just and dignified foreign policy. After weathering for awhile these disheartening conditions, Adams, having rendered such services as he could to his country in a new loan negotiation with Holland and conferences with his fellow-commis-

sioner, Jefferson, at Paris, tired of the ineffectual struggle with difficulties and against prejudice, at the close of 1787, requested his recall. His time, however, had not been altogether taken up with these foreign affairs. His famous work, the "Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America," was produced at this period. It grew out of some remarks by the French philosopher, Turgot, on the Constitutions of the State in which the adoption of English usages was objected to, and preference given to a single authority of the nation or assembly over a balanced system of powers. Adams extended the work to three volumes, in which he brought to bear upon the subject a vast amount of political reading, particularly in reference to the Italian Republics. The effect of this long discussion, like that of its sequel, the Discourses on Davila, is much weakened by its form, for Adams, with much spirit as a writer, is defective in his longer works in manner and method. If his style of writing had been formed in early life, like that of Franklin and Madison, upon the reading of the Spectator instead of the declamations of Bolingbroke, in so far as study can modify the genius of a man, his works would have been better for the training. John Adams loses as much as Franklin gains by his way of putting a thing in his writings.

The spring of 1788 restored him again to his native land. It was the period of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and when that instrument went fully into effect in the meeting of the first Congress at New York, he was

found to be chosen Vice-President, receiving the greatest number of votes of the electors next to Washington. He received thirty-four out of sixty-nine, the vote of Washington being unanimous. He held this office, presiding in the Senate, during both terms of Washington's administration, to which he gave active and often important assistance. In 1797, he succeeded to the Presidency by a vote of seventy-one over the sixty-eight of Jefferson. He found the country in imminent danger of a conflict with France. The principles of an English or French alliance were the tests of the party politics of the times. Jay's Treaty, sanctioning the neutrality policy of Washington, had indeed been adopted by Congress, but after a struggle which left many elements of opposition. The full force of these was directed against the Federal party, of which Adams was now the official representative. He was destined to receive aid, however, from an unexpected quarter. The assumptions and aggressions of the French Directory, on the arrival of Marshall and Gerry, as negotiators, developed a new phase of villainy in a contemptuous effort to bribe the American Commissioners. This insult at length opened the eyes and roused the spirit of the nation. Adams was for awhile exceedingly popular; addresses were poured in upon him, the country armed, commissioned a navy, Washington was again called into the field, and with Hamilton at his side, arranged means of military defence. Thus far he was with the strong anti-Gallican Federal party. He was thought, how-

ever, to fall off from it in some of his measures for reconciliation with France, which, however, by the turn which placed Napoleon in authority, had a successful issue; some of the acts of his administration, as the Alien and Sedition laws, were powerful instruments with an unscrupulous opposition, and he had, moreover, to bear the disaffection of Hamilton. There was little liberality or charity for defects of taste and temper. The embarrassments arising from these things clouded his administration, which closed with a single term, and the obstinate struggle which resulted in the election of Jefferson. A private affliction, in the loss of his second son, Charles, came also at this moment, to darken the shades of his retirement. He had no heart to witness the inauguration of his successor, and left Washington abruptly for Quincy.

His biographer tells us, as an index of his privacy, that while the year before his letters could be counted by thousands, those of his first year after were scarcely a hundred. Like Jay's protracted age at Bedford, his was a long retirement, but Adams had not in his disposition the quietude of Jay. The restlessness, the activity of pursuit which had driven the poor New England boy to the thrones of monarchs, and had seated him in the Presidency of the Republic, was not to subside without a murmur. The old statesman enjoyed a vicarious public life in the rapid advancement of his son in the councils of his country to the Presidency; the irritations of controversy lent their aid to agitate the torpor of

political neglect, in the series of letters vindicating his course, which he published in the "Boston Patriot;" while he occasionally revived for himself and the eye of posterity, past scenes of his history in an Autobiography. In 1818, in his eighty-third year, his wife, his "dearest friend," the gentle and accomplished, one of the mothers of America, full of the sweetest and grandest memories of the past, was taken from him. His last public service was in occasional attendance at the Convention of Massachusetts for the formation of a new Constitution, when he was eighty-five. He was not able to say, but he made his wish known, that the new instrument should express perfect religious tolerance. It was the liberal creed of his youth; it had been growing stronger with his age. Returning to his early friendship, he corresponded with Jefferson. The two venerable fathers of the Republic, Jefferson at the age of eighty-three, John Adams at that of ninety, died together on the birthday of the nation, July 4th, 1826. A few days before his death, the orator of his native town of Quincy, where he lay in his home, called upon Adams for a toast, to be presented at the approaching anniversary. "Independence forever!" was the reply. As the sentiment was delivered at the banquet, amidst ringing plaudits, the soul of the dying patriot was passing from earth to eternity.

We have brought the long and busy life to a close, from boyhood to fourscore and ten. A nation has been born

in that time, and one of its founders, after reaching its summit of authority, has seen his son at its head. We have the fullest revelations of this man. It was his passion not only to be employed in great events, but to write down the least of himself. We have his books, learned tomes, his official and personal Correspondence, his Reminiscences, his Diary, his Autobiography, the domestic letters of his wife. He was bent upon declaring himself in every form. What is the impression? Upon the whole, of a man of active conscientious mind, employed from youth in study and thought; diligent in affairs; lacking some of the judicious arts of the writer and statesman, which might have better set off his fair fame with the world. The formative period of his life, his early professional training, has a better lesson for the youth of his country than that of Franklin, for it has fewer errata. Egotism is sometimes apparent, but it led him to know as well as proclaim himself. His sensibility may occasionally be taken for vanity, but it is oftener the indication of true feeling. Had he been more cautious, he might have possessed less heart. He had his weaknesses. He was passionate, we are told, but forgiving; serious in manner, but capable of genial relaxation; of a disposition answering to his frame and look, with more of solidity than elevation; something of the sensual, relieved by a touch of humor, about him; nothing of the idealist: a broad, capacious head, capable of assertion and action.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

IN his Autobiography, written towards the close of his life, the author of the Declaration of Independence, thinking doubtless his new political career a better passport to fame with posterity than any conditions of ancestry in the old society which he had superseded, while he could not be insensible to the worth of a respectable family history, says of the Randolphs, from whom he was descended on the mother's side, "they trace their pedigree far back in England and Scotland, to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses." Whatever value may be set by his biographers upon an ancient lineage, they cannot overlook the fact—most important in its influence upon his future history—that he was introduced by his family relationships at birth into a sphere of life in Virginia, which gave him many social advantages. The leveller of the old aristocracy was by no means a self-made man of the people, struggling upward through difficulty and adversity. His father, Peter Jefferson, belonged to a family originally from Wales, which had been among the first settlers of the colony. In 1619, one of the name was seated in the Assembly at Jamestown, the first legislative body of Europeans, it is said, that ever met in the New

World. The particular account of the family begins with the grandfather of Thomas Jefferson, who owned some lands in Chesterfield County. His third son, Peter, established himself as a planter on certain lands which he had "patented," or come into possession of by purchase, in Albemarle County, in the vicinity of Carter's Mountain, where the Rivanna makes its way through the Range; and about the time of his settlement married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph, of Dungeness, in Goochland County, of the eminent old Virginia race, to which allusion has already been made, a stock which has extended its branches through every department of worth and excellence in the State. Isham Randolph was a man of talent and education, as well as noted for the hospitality practised by every gentleman of his wealthy position. His memory is gratefully preserved in the correspondence of the naturalists, Collinson and Bartram. The latter was commended to his care in one of his scientific tours, and enjoyed his hearty welcome. His daughter, Jane, we are told, "possessed a most amiable and affectionate disposition, a lively, cheerful temper, and a great fund of humor," qualities which had their influence upon her son's char-

acter. Her marriage to Peter Jefferson took place at the age of nineteen, and the fruit of this union, the third child and first son, was Thomas, the subject of this sketch. He was born at the new family location at Shadwell, April 2 (old style), 1743.

Peter Jefferson, the father, was a model man for a frontier settlement, tall in stature, of extraordinary strength of body, capable of enduring any fatigue in the wilderness, with corresponding health and vigor of mind. He was educated as a surveyor, and in this capacity engaged in a government commission to draw the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. Two years before his death, which occurred suddenly in his fiftieth year, in 1757, he was chosen a member of the House of Burgesses. His son was then only fourteen, but he had already derived many impressions from the instructions and example of his father, and considerable resemblance is traced between them. Mr. Randall, in his biography, notices the inheritance of physical strength, of a certain plainness of manners, and honest love of independence, even of a fondness for reading—for the stalwart surveyor was accustomed to solace his leisure with his *Spectator* and his *Shakspeare*.

The son was early sent to school, and, before his father's death, was instructed in the elements of Greek, and Latin, and French, by Mr. Douglass, a Scottish clergyman. It was his parent's dying wish that he should receive a good classical education; and the seed proved to be sown in a good soil. The lessons which the youth had already re-

ceived, were resumed under the excellent instruction of the Rev. James Maury, at his residence, and thence, in 1760, the pupil passed to William and Mary College. He was now in his eighteenth year, a tall, thin youth, of a ruddy complexion, his hair inclining to red, an adept in manly and rural sports, a good dancer, something of a musician, full of vivacity. It is worth noticing, that the youth of Jefferson was of a hearty, joyous character.

Williamsburg, also, the seat of the college, was then anything but a scholastic hermitage for the mortification of youth. In winter, during the session of the court and the sittings of the colonial legislature, it was the focus of provincial fashion and gaiety; and between study and dissipation the ardent young Jefferson had before him the old problem of good and evil not always leading to the choice of virtue. It is to the credit of his manly perceptions and healthy tastes, even then, that while he freely partook of the amusements incidental to his station and time of life, he kept his eye steadily on loftier things. "It was my great good fortune," he says in his *Autobiography*, "and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind." His instructions, communicated not only in college hours, but in familiar personal intimacy, warmed the young student with his first, as it became his constant,

passion for natural science. This happy instructor also gave a course of lectures in ethics and rhetoric, which were doubtless equally profitable to his young pupil in the opening of his mind to knowledge. He had also an especial fondness for mathematics, "reading off its processes with the facility of common discourse." He sometimes studied, in his second year, fifteen hours a day, taking exercise in a brisk walk of a mile at evening.

Jefferson was only two years at college, but his education was happily continued in his immediate entrance upon the study of the law with George Wythe, the memorable chancellor of Virginia, of after days, to whom he was introduced by Dr. Small, and of whose personal qualities—his temperance and suavity, his logic and eloquence, his disinterested public virtue—he wrote a worthy eulogium. The same learned friend also made him acquainted with Governor Fauquier, then in authority, "the ablest man," says Jefferson, "who ever filled the office." At his courtly table the four met together in familiar and liberal conversation. It was a privilege to the youth of the first importance, bringing him, at the outset, into a sphere of public life which he was destined afterwards, in Europe and America, so greatly to adorn. He passed five years in the study of the law at Williamsburg, and, without intermitting his studies, at his home at Shadwell. Nor, diligent as he was, is it to be supposed that his time was altogether spent in study. He yet found leisure, as his early telltale cor-

respondence with his friend Page, afterwards Governor of Virginia, shows, to harbor a fond attachment for a fair "Belinda," as he called her, reversing the letters of the name and writing them in Greek, or playing upon the word in Latin. The character of the young lady, Miss Rebecca Burwell, of an excellent family, does credit to his attachment, for it was marked by its religious enthusiasm, but nothing came of it beyond a boyish disappointment.¹

In 1767 he was introduced to the bar of the General Court of Virginia by his friend Mr. Wythe, and immediately entered on a successful career of practice, interrupted only by the Revolution. His memorandum books, which he kept minutely and diligently as Washington himself, show how extensively he was employed in these seven years; while the directions which he gave in later life to young students, exhibit a standard of application, which he had no doubt followed himself, of the utmost proficiency. His "sufficient groundwork" for the study of the law includes a liberal course of mathematics, natural philosophy, ethics, rhetoric, politics, and history. His pursuit of the science itself ascended to the antique founts of the profession. He was a well-trained, skillful lawyer, an adept in the casuistry of legal questions—more distinguished, however, for his ability in

¹ Mr. John Esten Cooke, of Virginia, author of the eminently judicious biography of Jefferson in Appleton's new Cyclopædia, has sketched this love affair in a pleasant paper on the "Early years of Thomas Jefferson." The "Page" correspondence is printed in Professor Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*.

argument than for his power as an advocate. He was throughout life little of an orator, and we shall find him hereafter, in scenes where eloquence was peculiarly felt, more powerful in the committee room than in debate.

His first entrance on political life was at the age of twenty-six, in 1769, when he was sent to the House of Burgesses from the county of Albemarle, the entrance on a troublous time in the consideration of national grievances, and we find him engaged at once in preparing the resolutions and address to the governor's message. The House, in reply to the recent declarations of Parliament, reasserted the American principles of taxation and petition, and other questions in jeopardy, and, in consequence, was promptly dissolved by Lord Botetourt. The members, the next day, George Washington among them, met at the Raleigh tavern, and pledged themselves to a non-importation agreement.

The next year, on the conflagration of the house at Shadwell, where he had his home with his mother, he took up his residence at the adjacent "Monticello," also on his own paternal grounds, in a portion of the edifice so famous afterwards as the dwelling-place of his maturer years. Unhappily, many of his early papers, his books and those of his father, were burnt in the destruction of his old home. In 1772, on New Year's Day, he took a step farther in domestic life, in marriage with Mrs. Martha Skelton, a widow of twenty-three, of much beauty and many winning accomplishments, the daughter of

John Wayles, a lawyer of skill and many good qualities, at whose death, the following year, the pair came into possession of a considerable property. In this circumstance, and in the management of his landed estate, we may trace a certain resemblance in the fortunes of the occupants of Monticello and Mount Vernon.

Political affairs were now again calling for legislative attention. The renewed claim of the British to send persons for state offences to England, brought forward in Rhode Island, awakened a strong feeling of resistance among the Virginia delegates, a portion of whom, including Jefferson, met at the Raleigh Tavern, and drew up resolutions creating a Committee of Correspondence to watch the proceedings of Parliament, and keep up a communication with the Colonies. Jefferson was appointed to offer the resolutions in the House, but declined in favor of his brother-in-law, Dabney Carr. They were passed, and a committee—all notable men of the Revolution—was appointed, including Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and others, ending with Thomas Jefferson. The Earl of Dummore then, following the example of his predecessor, dissolved the House.

We may here pause, with Mr. Jefferson's latest biographer, to notice the friendship of Jefferson with Carr. It belonged to their school-boy days, and had gained strength during their period of legal study, when they had kept company together in the shades of Monticello, and made nature the companion of their thoughts. They had

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